/865 cont./

X881 unified order, if he functions in close alliance with his country-
867 men and does not disturb community life through personal errors. A far-reaching, uniform molding of young people therefore is one of the requirements of education. The common instruction serves this purpose. Actually, all young people, without exception and irrespective of sex, are sooner or later obliged to undergo this protracted event. It gives each of them a uniform stamp, the heritage of previous generations, and pledges them to the rules of conduct and the manners which have hitherto upheld tribal life and guaranteed peaceful community living. As we have said, every ulwʃala is trained primarily to become a useful, valuable member of the tribe.

X881 Instruction is not given individually, but to the whole group
867 of candidates simultaneously. The teacher is a man of years,
888 usually a venerable old man who acts in this capacity either from
534 choice or at the invitation of the leader and the overseer. Sometimes one of these two men occupies this post, if circumstances demand it. In any case the teacher, known as ulwʃala kinina, is always an estimable personality demanding respect, of irreproachable character and perfect moral conduct, of mental superiority and acknowledged uprightness, well versed in the law of the tribe and exemplary in valiant manly deeds. Only a person who can honestly boast of many good characteristics will venture to face the young people as their teacher. He need not fear that he himself will give the lie to the admonitions that he offers them. They have an effect on the ulwʃala that is all the more lasting because such a teacher stands before them as the embodiment of the accepted requirements.

X881 His words flow with the deepest seriousness and out of inner-
867 most conviction. He prepares himself for his speech with a long
888 period of self-communion, and in thoughtful deliberation on one
537 afternoon or another he prepares in his mind the precepts that he feels impelled to present. When the manual work is finished and the participants are also inwardly at rest as they silently squat in their places, when night has spread her black veil over nature and there is deathly stillness round about, the teacher gives a sign. The candidates rise from their places and squat in a semicircle in front of him. They listen to his words with a serious mien and rapt attention. He speaks with the gentle sincerity and the perceptible

/865 cont./

warmth of a well-meaning adviser, with paternal anxiety for the future well-being of the individual and for the future of the whole tribe. During his /866/ simple discourse, all those present listen in complete silence to his soft voice, which deeply moves them, each word searching the conscience of the adults also. His warnings and exhortations to young and old sound like the last will and testament of a man who is standing at the end of life and looking back upon a career devoted to duty.

Such addresses were the most consecrated hours that I spent each evening during my first initiation. They are truly an experience for every youthful ůwůŋala also, and they do not forget them even in old age. For the rest of their lives, they preserve as their most precious treasure whatever has flowed into their souls during such a solemn hour as the greatest spiritual gift from the heart and soul of the teacher. Individual adults were able to repeat perfectly and with undiminished freshness the teachings which had been presented to them when they were ůwůŋala. Again these Fuegians prove to be excellent students of the psychology of youth and first-rate educators.

Formerly the teacher addressed his words to the ůwůŋala two or three times a week and never longer than an hour, although he speaks slowly and often repeats. "Too much talking tires the candidates!" old Alfredo told me in this connection. At my first initiation he took turn with the venerable Whaim, so that every evening we were given instruction by one or the other. Afterwards he told me: "This time the ċiŋaga was short, and that is why we were obliged to assemble you ůwůŋala every evening for the teaching, so that we could tell you everything (284). In

284. He wished to apologize because he and Whaim took up our time each evening. This was contrary to the earlier custom which left time for contemplation.

former times a day was left in between (285). The ůwůŋala are

285. This means that the two or three addresses by the teacher were, with interruptions, spread over a period of about a week.

/966 cont./

supposed to meditate deeply on what has been presented to them [by the teacher]!" When the latter has ended his address, the candidates return to their places and there they crouch thoughtfully for many hours before they may lie down to sleep. The adults, too, give themselves up to serious mental concentration, for there are no dances or games afterward.

In the common instruction the candidates are, of course, offered all the rules of conduct which are universally binding. The people are not content with this in the Xóonoo, however, since many participants have for some time observed faults, bad behavior, weaknesses, and shortcomings in one or another candidate and have been obliged to tolerate them angrily. Hence strictly personal training of the individual begins. The nearest kinsmen undertake this task, which is certainly not easy. First one and then another of them will squat beside the candidate, as they feel inspired or on the basis of observations which they themselves have made during the day. Each of them /NET/ begins with a searching talk. He adds warnings and is not sparing with threats. He points out clearly and comprehensibly to the ukwéala the weaknesses which have been observed in him in connection with some other circumstance. Everything is clearly mentioned by name and seriously censured: laziness and dullness, an aversion to work and a distraught manner, irritability and quarrelsomeness, a tendency to pilfer and untrustfulness, a greedy manner of eating and bumptiousness, impertinent interruption of adults and mocking words about aged people. Those of the adults who have previously objected to one thing or another without seeing results now intensify their threats. One adult will also join with another in order to reach their goal, and together they influence the ukwéala.

Wherever possible they apply appropriate measures. They will often withhold food from a glutton and will say: "You must learn to forgo all excess!" Someone who is clumsy is often called upon to do small chores; they try to combat laziness with particularly difficult assignments. The adults make an effort to wipe out faults and vices with these and other effective measures. They will thoroughly take to task an ukwéala who is regarded as headstrong and obstinate.

/256 cont./

simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

The people had already been loudly singing for about two hours. The kitchen women enter with the meal and are greeted with loud calls of Mámahuáh. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song, the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice: "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate Yáhmo. We want to do it well! This game came to us from the west, it came here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (338)

338: He means the youthful Julia who, several weeks before, had fled to the Yamana and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Inútil(see p. 440).

among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

1: Gostede--893 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 1988 Tahgan 1986

3 891 • 537 G9 619

/956 cont./
people how we conduct the *Silvery*. So we must do it particularly well this time!"

Shortly afterwards he interjected a personal remark into the song of the others. "Today two *pale* [innocent of *paleface*, p. 333 /unconcerned/] are dining among us. We are putting on the *Silvery* for their benefit (340). We want to celebrate it well!"

> 340. He means by this that Gostede and Kuppers are being granted the distinction never before given a European of experiencing this secret performance from beginning to end.

On the same evening Clara also spoke up. "I have a friendship [Julia] on my period. She is doing everything that is required of her here in the *Silvery*. /957/ She faithfully observes all the regulations and is enjoying our celebration. She came here to us because she no longer has any close relatives; she is an orphan. We are gladly taking her in. She may live among us peacefully and undisturbed, for there are only a few of us Tonnara left. My family was once also very large; now not one of my relatives is still living. I alone am left, that is why I am so sad. *Silvery*."

Afterwards Petro interrupted the singing. "I am very happy about those two Whites [Gostede and Kuppers]. They are influential men, and they respect our customs. They are proving themselves *cheerful* to us [genuine confidence]. They are sticking to the *Silvery* program. That is why I am sincerely sorry that they will leave us soon. They are genuinely good human beings!" She was immediately followed by Mary. "I, too, am happy that those two Whites have become well acquainted with our *Silvery* and have carefully adapted themselves to all [the rules]. They are splendid men!" Old Petro again came forward. "How sorry I am that those two men will leave us! They are heeding the order of this hut better than many of our own people!"

Clara, late in the afternoon, Pedro sang a very long time. His soft tenor voice sounded like a chorale. Interrupting himself, he said: "I am an old man and have but little vitality left. But now I am happy, for I have heard that this White [Gostede] wants to

1: Gusinde--804 E-5 (1918-1924) 1927 SHS Yahgan SHS

/927 cont./

to help us because he appreciates us Yamana! If only he can bring to pass what he has promised us, namely, to intercede for us [with the Chilean government] so that we may continue to live peacefully in this place (341). I am happy about this

341. He has the following in mind. For a number of years the Lawrence brothers had leased the region around Puerto Mejillones on the north shore of Navarino Island from the Chilean government who permitted the Yamana to settle in this small harbor. The lease would run out the following year, and there was danger that this piece of land would fall into other hands. This would make the future very uncertain for the Yamana, and they had reason to be afraid that they would be driven out of this place which they had learned to love. In view of this, I had promised them to present their wishes to the Ministerio de Colonizacião in Santiago. Later I kept my promise. Now the few surviving Yamana are spending their last days in this small harbor. Compare Gusinde (d):60 and page 364 /untranslated/.

[pleasant prospect]. That is why I took up the song and carried it on for so long!" Immediately afterward he continued his singing. The other people listened attentively and fell into a solemn mood, for his high voice was extraordinarily pleasant. Soon he paused again: "Truly, I am an old man. For a long time I have not taken part in a Kina'age. I am one of the last of the old people [of former times]. In my younger years I was always on hand wherever Kina'age took place. I was always among the first who took up the singing. For a long time I have not taken part in it for I am old. When I was young we went down to the beach at night to bathe; we sang as we did so, and I was never absent. And yet, to this day I have some /928/ strength and joy left. Truly, it is not right that I have been inactive until now. I shall summon the last of my strength and all the younger people will see that I as an old man am not holding back. So I shall go on singing!" He sang even more vigorously than before; he even stood up to dance

1: Gunindo--005 E-5 (1918-1926) 1937 5096 Tohgee 5096

/928 cont./

and jumped with sheer joy. His behavior encouraged everyone present.

This time blind Whaim also took an extremely active part in the singing. He constantly interrupted it and interjected: "I am a man well along in years and the singing is a strain on me. If I were still a young chap, as formerly when I took part in the ʔihnaa with other young men, I would have more strength and fire, then I would sing better. You cannot expect more from an old, blind man than what I am actually offering." After a short pause he continued sadly: "I am well aware that this affair is not conducted as solemnly and seriously as formerly. I regret that very much. In olden times ʔihnaa was unsurpassably beautiful!" As he said this, he was seized with anger; he knew that we two were present: "I am shocked that this time we have even [European] strangers among us. Off with you two! It is a disgrace that our ʔihnaa is no longer as beautiful as it used to be, that everyone present no longer takes such an active and conscientious part in the dances as was formerly the rule. Off with you two, what is our ʔihnaa to you! Even less should you see it now when it is done so badly. Leave this Great Hut immediately (342)!"

342. It was a momentary surge of high indignation that provoked this old man to such insulting words. He soon calmed down, was later thoroughly enlightened by his two daughters, both of whom were our sponsors, and finally proved to be our sincere friend. Through the sponsorship of his daughters, we even became related to him. See Kyppem (s): 98.

While dinner was being distributed and eaten, great stillness prevailed. After that quite loud group singing started up again. While it was going on, Whaim said: "The song [the melody] that I am singing originated with my uncle. He taught it to me when I was ʔiwʔalo; since then I have repeated it often. How lovely it was in those days when I was still a young chap. At that time there were many people living!"
Somewhat later he added: "All the beautiful ʔawiit [flutes] come from the west. The long ʔiwʔalo [leather straps to capture the

/[illegible] cont./

[illegible] candidates], too, were best there. They covered the framework of the Great Hut there with the most excellent skins. Truly, everything [that is used for the [illegible] ceremony] was incomparably more beautiful in the west than in the central part and in the east" (343).

343. In these words there is again a reference to the common view of the origin of the initiation in the extreme west and its infiltration into the central Yamana regions.

After a while, the same Whaita again interrupted the general singing: "Tomorrow we shall leave the Great Hut. This [illegible] went off nicely and yet it put me in a sad mood. I am an old /Plate 3 appears here/ /[illegible]/ man who does not expect many more years of life. Among us there is a good White, I know him from former times (344). He will help us to keep this

344. On my first visit in February, 1918, I had met this old man in Punta Remolino, talked to him for a long time, and at that time received important data about Fuegian mythology. See Gusinde (a): 38.

piece of land here [at Puerto Harberton]. He promised us that. So, take advantage of his presence, young people! I personally will hardly benefit from it, for I am very old, I feel weak and tired of life. You young people may take advantage of his offer. I wish you success!"

Tormented by anxiety, blind Whaita again came back to this topic. Sadly he said: "Alas, poor me! I have been living in this place for many years. I have grown old. I always had enough to eat and my dwelling always stood here. But the Whites are betraying us Yamana. Now they will take this little spot away from us, then they will drive me and my wife from this island [Navarino]. Woe to us who are so helpless [against the Whites]! Where shall we turn? The Whites are already everywhere. If they should actually drive us away, then let them take

[Text continues on page 9[illegible]]

L. Custodio--808 K-5 (1919-1924) 1977 5058 Tahgee 5058

/319 cont./
the whole island [Nevertheless] away from here and drag it along with them wherever they wish!"

Each speaker and singer concludes his words with a loud and vigorous call, "*Ishoye*." This is correctly interpreted as giving force to their statements and emphasizing their emotions, as well as a cry of confidence in the fulfillment of wishes expressed, and finally as a curse upon whatever they complain of and condemn. Sometimes this concluding cry of "*Ishoye*" sounds like a cry of despair.

Just as the singing in general is meant to drive away Yeiijin (p. 781), particularly interjections have the same purpose. If any leading person sees this evil spirit approaching, he loudly calls upon all those present to drive him away. One evening (340) the

340. See Kuppan (x):81 concerning this evening performance during the fourth day of the celebration.

women were very vigorously dancing, and Santiago felt an urge to excite them to a state of extreme excitement. He shouted to them from his seat: "Dance on! Yeiijin is still very near and refuses to go away!" Soon he added: "Dance harder! Yeiijin still shows no sign of withdrawing." After a few minutes he cried out, as though slightly relieved: "Just go on bravely! Already Yeiijin is starting to retreat, he is sinking head-down into the earth!"

Our interpreters explained to us why Santiago and Pedro made such urgent demands for loud singing and vigorous dancing. As strangers and unbidden ones in this *Ishoye* hut, they say, we attracted the special attention of Yeiijin; the people present were afraid he could do us particular harm. Hence the greatest effort was required /339/ to push this Yeiijin, who is very dangerous for everyone, deep into the interior of the earth so that he could not harm us in any way.

Again Santiago cried loudly: "Dance on! I still see Yeiijin's feet sticking out of the ground." After a few minutes, as though relieved, he says: "I see only one foot [sticking out of the ground]. But go on dancing (340)!" Then: "Now I see only one toe of

340. Chris had meanwhile carefully observed [things], the reader. At that point, as